2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

578 acts as peacemaker. But in principle they go back to the same facts as general wars, the structural differentiation of maximal lineages and clans.

We can see that Tale wars were in fact a kind of intestine feud within a single homogeneous social region, rather than wars in our sense. We have refrained from calling them feuds because they were usually short and sharp and never led to a long series of mutual reprisals. If one war was followed a year later by a war of revenge, as in the instance given in this chapter, that was the end of it. One might even describe them as a [669] kind of civil war, since they sprang from the cleavages inherent in the social structure, particularly the cleavage between Namoos and non-Namoos. They served to keep these cleavages alive, to defend the corporate unity of the maximal lineage and clan and the corporate rights associated with it, against other like units. They were, at bottom, a mechanism for resolving tensions within the society[1] and not an instrument of political action against outsiders. The ever-present possibility of war was a potent factor in maintaining the segmentary structure of the society. It achieved this by enhancing to the utmost both aspects of the social differentiation of maximal lineages and clans—the demarcation of unit from unit by genealogical and local criteria, and the corporate solidarity of each unit in its own right. However much the Tallensi 578 deplored bloodshed among them, as in civilized nations, in warfare all 186 personal interests were subordinated to the common interest of the clan or maximal lineage, whether its cause was just or not. All normal activities were suspended and every man, woman, and adolescent child took some part in the fighting or in caring for the wants of the fighters. Clan patriotism reached a pitch of fervour which no other occasion could evoke. It was felt as passionately by the women and girls carrying water to the fighters and dragging the wounded away, and by the old men at home who tended the wounded and went around from shrine to shrine making sacrifices to the ancestors, as by the fighting men. Something of this spirit comes out to-day in the inaugural ceremonies of an important elder's funeral, when the whole clan turns out for a pageant mimicking the activities of war.

578 Yet there was never any danger of wars or smaller fights breaking the 182 society up into a number of anarchic fragments. They were inhibited from doing so by the countervailing influence of the strong social ties between traditionally hostile groups. Indeed their very occurrence [728] stimulated the reassertion of the overriding common interests of the society and the reaffirmation of the bonds of unity between the factions. In a war between Namoos and non-Namoos peace had to be made quickly and the *status quo ante* restored because the two groups are so closely interconnected by ties of marriage and kinship that the majority of members of one group have bonds of duty, affection, and mutual interest with members of the other; because they are such close neighbours; above all, because they are bound together by ties of politico-

[1] These tensions persist, though they are kept well in check by fear of the British Administration. The new judicial system provides a safety valve to some extent; but they break through, chiefly in the form of political intrigue, as we shall see in the next section.